1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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ceremony is the avoidance of the parents, which is symbolic of the incest taboo. Any (preferably young) kinswoman who is tall enough and strong enough, whether she herself is married or not, and whether or not she has the joking relation with the bride, may carry the bride; and any may attend her. Only the mother absolutely must not do so. Likewise the groom's father must not attend him. Neither pair of parents go to sit by the wedding fire, for they must not sit near their son's wife or daughter's husband, nor speak to them. Guests of mature years might go and sit by the wedding fire only if they have the joking relationship with both the bride and the groom. Very young guests, such as we saw at /Nai's and /Gunda's fire, may go, whether they joke or not with the bride and groom, because the avoidances are not stringently observed with young children.

Termination of marriage and remarriage

Widows and widowers are not avoided in any special way because of their widowhood.

If her husband dies, a young widow usually returns to her own parents or lives with one of her own siblings, but, if her people are dead, or if it is her preference, she may stay on with her deceased husband's people. It is the duty of her HuBr to hunt for her if she needs his support.

Several possibilities are open to a young widower: rarely he might stay with his deceased wife's parents or siblings; more likely he would return to his own parents or siblings; and, when he marries again, he goes into matrilocal residence with the new bride. In any case, a man is responsible for his wife's parents and young siblings, and, if they depended on him for support, he would take them with him. They would be likely to prefer, however, to live with an adult son, daughter, or sibling of their own if they had any.

Old widowers or widows whose own parents are dead usually live with either a son or daughter, or perhaps with their own sibling—as they wish.

The surviving spouse is free to marry again within the regulations of the extended incest taboo, which applies to all marriages.

Parents would arrange the subsequent marriage of a widowed boy or girl. Adults may make their own arrangements directly. My impression was that persons might be considered fully adult somewhere in their middle or late twenties.

An adult man takes the initiative and asks the woman to marry him. Robert Dyson in the 1951 expedition learned that one way for a man to ask a woman to marry him is to present her with a bow and arrow. If she accepts it she indicates her willingness to consider his suit.

No restriction of time is put upon the remarriage of a widower, but a widow should not remarry until one rainy season has passed. She is then considered 'clean' and may marry again. ≠Toma said, 'The rain washes (*//num*) the death away from the widow.' *//Num* is the gesture of wiping a dish with one finger and then licking the finger. /Ti/kay of Band 9 said that some men wait for a rainy season to pass, but that others would be pleased the husband was dead and, without waiting, say, 'This is my chance.' One interpreter understood that the widow had to take off her kaross and spend a night out, letting the rain fall on her, but ≠Toma said this was not what

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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601 The sibling category is divided on the basis of sex. Ego jokes with a sibling of
602 the same sex as his own and is prohibited from joking with a sibling of opposite
[593] sex. This creates a 'cross' and 'parallel' pattern which is observed in the use of the terms, man-speaking and woman-speaking, among persons classified by name with siblings and among affines of the sibling category.

Sex is not the differentiating factor with respect to the joking relationship among groups of kin apart from siblings. All other consanguineous kin, affines, and name-relatives are grouped in the joking or non-joking dichotomy according to their categorical classification, as follows:

Ego has the joking relationship with anyone of either sex who is classified with himself or herself, to whom ego applies the term */gu!ns* (or *tsu!gs* w.s.) or *tûn*. Consanguineous kin may be so classified by generation (i.e. cousins) as shown in Diagram 1, or by the factor of the name, i.e. the person for whom ego is named or persons named for ego. Ego has the joking relationship with grandparents and grandchildren unless the factor of the name places ego terminologically in the other, non-joking, division. Among affines, ego has the joking relationship with his or her spouse, and
607 also with BrWi and WiSi, *tûn* m.s., and SiHu and HuBr, *tsu!gs* w.s., who are all considered suitable persons to marry. Ego may joke with affines termed */uwba* and */undai*, who are in ego's generation terminologically as they are his offspring's spouses' parents. Persons named for any of the above affines would be termed */gu!ns* (or *tsu!gs* w.s.) or *tûn* by ego and ego could joke with them. He could joke also with any name-relatives to whom he applies these terms.

600 Joking is prohibited with parents and offspring of either sex and with anyone of either sex who is classified with them by being of the same generation, when the generational method of applying terms is used, or by being named for them, when the homonymous method of applying terms is used; or with name-relatives classified in this category. Joking is also prohibited with affines associated with this category, i.e. parents of spouse, and spouses of offspring. The terms which are associated with the non-joking status are the parent-child terms, and *tsu*, *‖gs* or *di!guma*, and the affinal terms, *≠tum*, *tsu!gs* m.s. and */ut'su*.

When informants were trying to explain the joking relationship to us they had an additional statement to make about the prohibition of joking. They said that, as they must not joke with their parents or offspring, in like manner they must not joke with a person and the offspring of that person. This concept is doubtless associated with the generational method of applying terms. It is not thought to be a contradiction or inconsistency to joke both with a person and the offspring of that person when the homonymous method of applying terms is followed. When a person is named for another his biological position is disregarded and he is terminologically classified with the person for whom he is named. The homonymous method is never applied nor the biological position disregarded in the nuclear family or among primary affines.

Joking, of course, is always reciprocal; if ego may joke with A, A may joke with ego. If B is named for A, the term which ego applies to B always has the same joking status as the term he applies to A. Ego's joking status is the same with both persons of a married couple (cf. p. 18), except in the case of name-relatives with whom he assumes his status individually (cf. p. 15).